

TAKAYAMA, Yoko

Red Tourism in China

Introduction

Currently, Red Tourism in China is a subject that continues to fascinate scholars in a variety of disciplines. Although some considered it to be just a pursuit for popular amusement, Red Tourism is in fact better described as a tourism built on political pilgrimage, which emphasizes the visiting of national sacred places, such as the birthplace and residences of past communist leaders, 'glorious' battlefields, and revolutionary martyrs cemeteries and memorials, in order to learn revolutionary history and to boost the national prestige of socialist countries. This type of tourism can be traced back to the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, when people began to make pilgrimages to sacred places in order to retrace the Long March, 12,500-kilometer-long-trek. It was especially important for younger people who were born around 1949 to have this vicarious experience of the Long March to ensure that they learned the proper appreciation of the revolutionary spirit. Most of this generation readily adopted asceticism as a means of embracing their revolutionary heritage.¹

Mao Tourism is another example for a type of political pilgrimage. After a revolutionary memorial was established in 1953 in Mao's home town of Shaoshan, located in the Hunan Province, it gradually grew to become a popular revolutionary sacred place for the new nation. A few hundred thousand people visited Shaoshan between 1953 and 1964. During the Cultural Revolution, thousands had turned into millions when the projected persona of Mao Zedong changed drastically from that of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leader to a near God of the PRC. In the 1980s, visitor numbers began sharply decrease because of hostility towards what was perceived to be a radical political movement, however by 1990 visitors were beginning to increase. Han Min suggests the three reasons for this; the official repudiation of the Cultural Revolution, the large-scale celebration of 100th anniversary of Mao's birthday, and the ongoing success of the economic reformation of 1978. As the revaluation of Mao spread across the whole country, goods printed with his likeness increasingly come to be seen as good-luck charms. Consequently, Mao became a greatly profitable tourism resource.²

Red Tourism is not necessarily the same as the Mao Tourism of the 1950s to 1970s, due in large part of the widespread social changes brought by globalization and events and movements like the rapid socialization in the 1950s, the Cultural Revolution, the reform and open policies in place since 1978, the Tiananmen incident in 1989, the Beijing Olympics in 2008, and the Shanghai Exposition in 2010. During the decades, peoples' views at sites related to revolution have been various reflecting the change from revolutionary narrative to the vast extent of popular entertainment. In 1989, the first theme park in China, Splendid China, was inaugurated in Shenzhen and dealt primarily with Chinese history and culture. China Folk Culture Villages, an ethnic theme park showcase the culture of 24 Chinese minority groups was inaugurated in 1991 as a sister park of Splendid China (Photo 1). The Window of the World followed in 1994, displayed various replicas of the famous world heritages built at ratios of 1:1, 1:5 or 1:15. The great success of these theme parks in Shenzhen resulted in theme parks spreading to the rest of the country. Song Cheng was built in 1996 along with the historical theme park. Grand Prospect Garden, based on the Qing novel *Dream of the Red Chamber* in addition. Yunnan Ethnic Village and Beijing Ethnic Village were both designed as ethnic theme parks. This paper will analyse all of these cultural aspects of Red Tourism, giving particular consideration two of the most prominent phenomena for the tourism industry, Dark Tourism and Disneyization.³



Photo 1 China Folk Culture Villages

Revolutionary Narratives

In 1991, the CCP promulgated the 'Outline on Implementing Patriotic Education' and requested local government to establish Patriotic Education Bases. As a result, 100 sites

were selected to be Patriotic Education Bases. Of these, a total of 66 are dealt with revolutionary history, which is mainly comprised of the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese Civil Wars between the CCP and the Kuomintang (KMT), the Korean War, the Arrow War and the Opium War (Table 1). As well as revolutionary sites, archaeological and historical sites such as the Forbidden Palace and the Great Wall of China are also included. Another selection of 100 sites was held in 2001, following by 66 more in 2006.

Table 1 Chronology of Modern China

Date	Events
1840-1842	Opium War
1856-1860	Arrow War (Second Opium War)
1894-1895	First Sino-Japanese War
1904-1905	Russo-Japanese War
1911	Xinhai Revolution
1921	Foundation of the CCP
1927	Nanchang Uprising, Chinese Civil War
1931	Manchurian Incident (Mukden Incident)
1934-1935	Long March
1937	Marco-Pole Bridge Incident, Second Sino-Japanese War (-1945)
1945	Chinese Peoples' Political Consultative Conference, Chinese Civil War
1949	Foundation of the PRC
1950-1953	Korean War
1958-1961	Great Leap Forward
1966-1977	Cultural Revolution
1978	Open and Reform

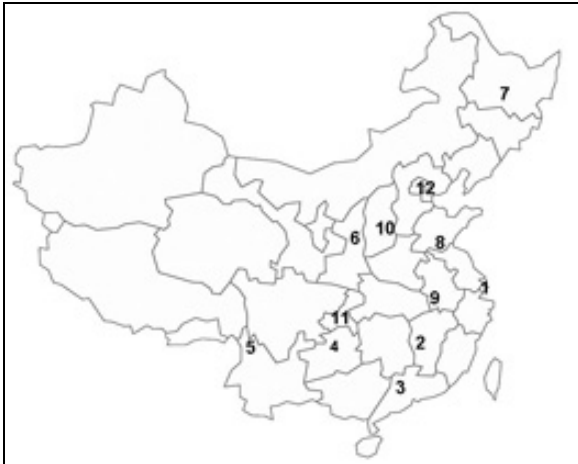
On being listed as a Patriotic Education Base, each site received financial support from the government to modernize its exhibitions as the 1950s and 1970s displays were deemed too old-fashioned to attract the modern tourists more accustomed to Disney-style amusement parks. In particular, drastic renovation of the exhibitions was considered necessary to appeal to their target audience of younger tourists born after

the end of the Cultural Revolution, which was the age of groups most encouraged to study revolutionary history.

The practice of touring Patriotic Education Bases gradually came to known as ‘Red Tourism’ in 1990s. The term was first officially used when the government issued its ‘National Red Tourism Development Planning 2004-2010’ strategy, in 2004, during the 55th anniversary of the PRC. It had two major purposes; economic development and ideological regeneration. Red Tourism development achieved both by benefiting the government politically and travel agencies economically.⁴ During the first phase (2004-2007), 12 major zones (Table 2) (Map 1), 30 tourist routes, and 100 highlighted sites were established. Each major zone represents a theme related to the region.

Table 2 12 Major Zones and Themes

Major Zone	Theme
1. Shanghai	Beginning of the History, Foundation of the Party
2. Jinggangshan, Ruijin, Shaoshan, and Nanchang	Cradle of the Revolution, Homeland of Leaders
3. Baise District	Baise Storm, Two River Red Tourism
4. Zunyi	Historical Change, Victory by Surprise Attack
5. Northern Yunnan and Western Sichuan	Unspeakable Hardship, Miracle of the Revolution
6. Yan’an	Yan’an Sprit, Revolutionary Sacred Place
7. Northern East	Anti-Japanese Heroes, Endless Snowfield
8. Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia	Overture to Eastern March, Decisive Battle in Huaihai
9. Dabieshan	Great Strides, Homeland of General
10. Taihang	Taihang Gunpowder Smoke, Hope for Victory
11. Chongqing	Chuanshan Soviet District, Red Rock Spirit
12. Beijing and Tianjin	People’s Victory, Waving Flag



Map 1 12 Major Zones of Red Tourism

The order of the major zones represents the history of the CCP. The CCP was founded through the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in Shanghai in 1921. The site of the conference, rebuilt in 1999, has been preserved as a memorial museum and the central institution of this Red Tourism district. Moreover, Longhua Martyrs' Memorial Cemetery is quite prominent. The CCP, which initially collaborated with the KMT, soon found itself at odds with the KMT, because Chiang Kai-shek acquired control and through power struggle after the death of Sun Yat-sen, decided to strike out against the communists thoroughly. In 1927, this led to the KMT establishing a police headquarters near Longhua Temple and executing hundreds of communists. In the 1950s, the cemetery was established to rebury many of the remains that were interred there.

Theme 2 narrates the first uprising of the CCP, the foundation of the revolutionary base in Jinggangshan and the Chinese Soviet Republic in Ruijin. On 1st August 1927, the CCP launched an armed uprising against the Wuhan Nationalist Government in Nanchang, the capital of the Jiangxi Province. However, Zhou Enlai, Ye Ting, Lin Bocheng, and Mao Zedong failed in their revolts against the KMT, and were forced to withdraw to the hinterland to reorganize their troops. They regrouped at Jinggangshan, located in the Luoxiao Mountains. In 1931, the Chinese Soviet Republic was established under Mao Zedong's leadership in Ruijin in southeastern Jiangxi.

Themes 4, 5 and 6 relate to the Long March. Attacked by Chiang Kai-shek's forces, Mao Zedong had to leave Ruijin in the Jiangxi Province and launch the Long March, a

massive military retreat from Ruijin of the Jiangxi Province to Yan'an in the Shanxi Province. Meanwhile, he achieved in fact leadership over the CCP through the Zunyi Conference held in 1935. Today, the site of the conference is the most important Patriotic Education Base in Guizhou Province. Many soldiers died on the long trek, however, in 1935, the Red Army finally arrived at Yan'an in western Shanxi Province, where the new headquarters of the CCP were soon established. It was here that Mao Zedong created the basis of his revolutionary ideology, later published as *Little Red Book*, an extensive collection of selected his texts.

Themes 7 and 10 are connected with the Second Sino-Japanese War that broke out in 1937. During that war, some heroes appeared; Yang Jingyu (1905-1940) and Zhao Yiman (1905-1936). After their deaths at the hands of the Japanese army, they were repeatedly depicted in dramas and posters as revolutionary martyrs. Zhao Yiman had been tortured in the headquarters of the Manchurian Police built in the Western European classical style of architecture in Harbin, which later opened as an early revolutionary memorial hall on 10th October, 1948. The place of martyrdom for Yang Jingyu in Jilin Province, later named Jingyu, became a large memorial park with a statue and memorial tower dedicated to him. Taihang, previously called Liao and located in the Shanxi Province, became a battlefield in 1942. When the Eighth Route Army, headed by Generals Pang Dehuai and Zuo Qian broke through the ranks of surrounding of Japanese corps, Zuo Qian died during the accompanying Japanese aerial bombardment. To commemorate him, the name of Liao-xian was renamed to Zuo-xian.

Themes 8 and 9 relate to the Chinese Civil Wars. After the end of hostilities of the Japanese in 1945, the breakdown in relations between the CCP and the KMT at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Chongqing, provisional capital from 1937 to 1949, provoked another Chinese Civil War. In 1938, the CCP had set up an office in *Hongyan-cun* (Red Rock Village) to avoid Japanese air raids. Before the retreat from Chongqing, the KMT killed approximately 200 communists in the *Baigongguan* (White Residence) in Geleshan, which was a prison for communists and a training institution of secret agency built by the KMT with support of the United States in 1942. This episode was the basis of the famous revolutionary novel *Hongyan* or Red Rock.⁵ In 1964, Baigongguan was named the Exhibition Hall of Chiang Kai-shek's Crime of

Collaborating with the KMT and the United States and soon the Geleshan Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery was built in Geleshan.

These series of themes finally end with the victory of the CCP and the declaration of the foundation of the People's Republic of China by Mao Zedong. This includes the creation of National Flag Square, the Monument to the People's Heroes with Mao's inscription of 'Eternal Glory to the People's Heroes', and the Chairman Mao Mausoleum in Tiananmen Square. Revolutionary narratives usually impress upon visitors the heroes' deaths and the victorious battles they gave their lives in. In particular, they are used to foster a collective memory or 'Red Spirit'.

Red, Green and Dark

In China, places associated with revolutionary narratives are collectively referred to as Red Culture or Red Heritage. The color of red is extensively used in very explicit and visual ways. For example, Jinggangshan, Yan'an, Zunyi, and Shanghai, where revolutionary events took place, are each referred to as *Hongse Mingcheng* or Red Great City. Moreover, Red Tourism websites showcasing such places routinely use the color red as do guidebooks that emphasize relationship between the color red and objects in particular. *Hongse* events, *Hongse* songs and *Hongse* people, are almost always depicted in red. Guidebooks stress that they follow 'the National Red Tourism Developing Planning 2004-2010' and aim to strengthen readers' patriotism and loyalty to the party and the army, and *Hongse* education through the introduction of Red Tourism resources.⁶

The touring of battle sites, graves of the famous, the infamous and the merely affluent and to the locations of infamous deeds, especially places associated with death, is called 'Dark Tourism', which is a product of post-modernity.⁷ Viewed in this way, Red Tourism can be categorized as a form of Dark Tourism. Xu Renli points out a common similarity between Dark Tourism and Red Tourism is that the purpose of visiting is pleasure and comprehension of tragic events, and difference is the way visitors understood the events. In Dark Tourism, visitors to negative places, such as Hiroshima, Auschwitz, and the Killing Fields, mourn the numerous victims and ideally resolve not to allow such atrocities to occur in the future; in contrast, with Red Tourism, the visit is

essentially positive one as sacred places provide opportunities to learn Chinese revolutionary history and intensify the collective feelings of Red Spirit. Xu goes on to assert that the color green, a color with strong association of the 21st century, shows the prospects for the Chinese tourism industry.⁸ Red Tourism rarely stands alone; occasionally it collaborates either with Green Tourism or with Dark Tourism. In China, Green Tourism frequently manifests itself as a mixture of eco-tourism, ethnic tourism and rural tourism, largely because areas where eco-tourism development is carried out are mostly populated minorities.

Red and Green

Jinggangshan, called the Cradle of the Revolution, is one of the most eminent Red Tourist sites in China. Moreover, it is considered to be a Green Tourist site. Jinggangshan, listed as a Natural Reserve Area in 1981 and as a Chinese Scenic and Historic Area in 1982,⁹ continues to be one of the natural landscape sightseeing spots in the country. Prior to Red Tourism development, it was a poor area in the rugged and remote mountains of the Jiangxi Province, however after the beginning of the Red Tourism development, highways were expanded and Chinese three-star hotels and restaurants were soon constructed in the area.¹⁰ In addition, the old residences of Mao Zedong and Zhu De as well as the graves of revolutionary heroes were repaired (Photo 2).



Photo 2 Old Residence of Mao Zedong

There are more than 30 revolutionary sites related to the early period of the CCP in Jinggangshan. Mao Zedong, who fled from Changsha to a Jinggangshan with his troops in October 1927, and Zhu De, who had been unsuccessful in the Nanchang Uprising, joined forces in Ciping, a village located at Jinggangshan Mountain. They had to

reorganize their troops, which consisted of local farmers and miners into the Red Army, and were forced to establish a revolutionary base where the CCP leaders could give local people training military and a political education. The leaders introduced three principles for the newly created Red Army; the quick implementation all orders, a prohibition on the confiscation of goods from poor farmers, and the entrustment to the government of any goods confiscated from the landlords.

Ciping was the location of the leading department within Jinggangshan; therefore revolutionary sites were concentrated here. The sites related to the revolutionary leaders were restored in 1961 and listed as part of national cultural heritage protection system. Jinggangshan Revolution Museum, the first local revolutionary museum, was established in Ciping in 1959 on the 10th anniversary of the PRC. In 1962, Zhu De visited there and depicted inscription for the museum. In all, there are seven exhibition parts. First is a brief introduction to Jinggangshan and the uprisings of Mao Zedong and Zhu De. Second is explanation for the founding of revolutionary base in Jinggangshan. Third explores is the golden age of Jinggangshan, while the fourth highlights the development of revolutionary ideology. Fifth part is a direct appeal to the people to keep the revolutionary spirit alive. In total the museum possesses more than 3,000 exhibits, constituting of 860 authentic relics and 2,000 replicas. The most precious exhibits in the collections are the oil lamp and ink stone both used by Mao Zedong. These objects in particular are ‘treated like holy relics’.¹¹

In 1985, construction began on Jinggangshan Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery, and it was partly opened in October 1987, on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP revolutionary base in Jinggangshan. 19 statues of revolutionary leaders were carved by renowned sculptors at Jinggangshan Sculpture Garden and numerous stone monuments inscribed by communist leaders were erected at Monument Garden. In China, inscriptions by famous leaders are considered to be an important way of conferring authority on a place. Revolutionary Martyr Cemeteries and Memorials are filled with inscriptions. In certain instances, leaders either composed an original poem or wrote a familiar phrase. The ‘Monument to Jinggangshan Revolutionary Martyrs’ was inscribed by Deng Xiaoping and ‘Jinggangshan Revolutionary Base, Heroes’ Eternal Immortality’ was inscribed by Peng Zhen. ‘Eternal Immortality’ has been one of

the most commonly used phrases to glorify the heroes since Mao Zedong wrote this for the Monument to the People's Heroes in front of Tianan-men in Beijing. That monument was designed by placing Mao's inscription in the center and combining it with newly-imported western monument style.

Another site with strong Mao association is Dajing village in Jinggangshan, famous for having Mao's Reading Stone and the Evergreen Tree at the White Wall House. Mao Zedong, Peng Dehuai, and Teng Daiyuan lived in the White Wall House, which had a medical clinic, while Zhu De and Chen Yi lived in the Yellow Wall House. In January 1929, the two houses were burned down except a piece of the White Wall House. The White Wall House was rebuilt in 1960, and the Yellow one was rebuilt in 1984. The Stone for Reading, which Mao Zedong indeed used to read books and documents, in front of the White Wall House and two Immortal Trees behind the House are seen as a witness to the revolutionary history. It is crucial for visitors to take photos in front of the stone and the tree today.

Red and Dark

One consequence of modern wars has been the need for and the generation national sacred places and national heroes. Nations involved in the First World War were forced to confront the need for large cemeteries and memorials to commemorate the massive death toll that war accompanied the war. This large-scale erection of war memorials was not only for mourning the victims but also served as a way to justify the state's involvement in what was seen as an inevitable, nevertheless noble war. During this lingering process of memorialisation and conducting funerals, death ceased to be about the individual and instead was about the collective heroic sacrifice of the group dying for their motherland: equally, bloody battlefields began to be viewed as shared national sacred places.¹² Today, visitation of battlefields and cemeteries is called Dark Tourism.

In the 20th century, the new cemetery landscape fashion of white gravestones and green lawns,¹³ first appeared in forms of martyr cemeteries. This design for a public cemetery was unusual choice in China, whose funerary culture is chiefly characterized by ancestor worship and *Fengshui*, or Chinese geomancy, which had traditionally determined where corpses were buried.¹⁴ Some of these initial cemeteries, contained

bronze, marble or concrete statues and monuments, and were designed in the style of Socialist Realism, an official art style created by Stalin in 1933. Two such examples are the bronze statue of a helmet and a rifle facing the main gate in Harbin Revolutionary Martyr Cemetery and a bronze statue of a soldier is on the top of the war memorial in Shenyang Martyrs Cemetery. In martyr cemeteries, these types of statues are usually accompanied by simple gravestones engraved with the names of the dead and monuments inscribed by communist leaders, such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Zhu De, with deviation from this traditional concept being rare.

During repairs on cemeteries all nations in the 1980s and 1990s, huge monuments and statues were newly erected, and occasionally, statues, which had been broken during the Cultural Revolution, were restored. Memorial museums built simultaneously onsite, differed considerably from former museums, whose rooms were usually quite dim and musty, with monotonous displays of photos and drawings. Traditionally using visual equipments to display and narrate revolutionary history in a dramatic way, these sites gradually adopted more sensationalistic techniques in their exhibitions. Using method not out of place in a Disney-like theme park, some tourist sites began to offer a quasi-experience of the revolution by encouraging visitors to dress up in Red Army uniforms and singing *Hongse* songs.

In 1987, the Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression in the Marco Polo Bridge, southwest of Beijing, was opened to the public on the 50th anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, and is a typical example of the new style of museum. 'The semi-panorama picture under the subject of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident is one of the basic exhibits in the museum. Combining a large-scale painting and some models, it employs computer-controlled audio, optic and electric techniques, which can turn the painting immediately into a scene of dark clouds, war flames and fierce gunshots, as if a visitor were present at the Marco Polo Bridge Battle decade ago'.¹⁵

The Yuanmingyuan Garden deserves special mention for the war it directly appeals to visitors' emotions (Photo 3). Originally built by Giuseppe Castiglione, an Italian missionary, as a summer palace in Beijing in the early 18th century with the western architecture style designed, the garden was completely damaged by French and British

armies of the Arrow War in 1857 to 1860. Although several parts were rebuilt in the 1980s, were preserved in a broken state in order to remind visitors to 'National Humiliation'. Visitors find a placard printed with a slogan 'Never Forget the National Humiliation, Rejuvenate China' in the garden. Callahan calls this humiliation 'pessoptimism', a mixture of pessimism and optimism, whereby visitors are expected to absorb the humiliating aspects of Chinese modern history by observing ruined architecture and mourning over victims from the past.¹⁶



Photo 3 Yuanmingyuan

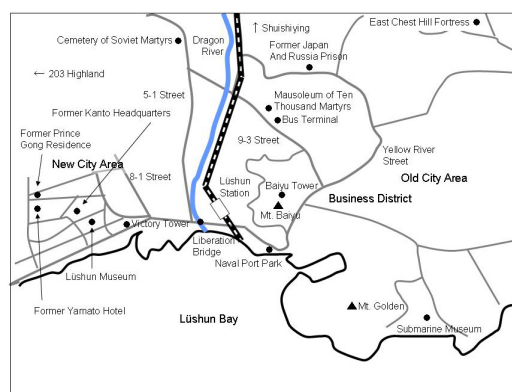
A similar placard can be seen at the 203 Highland in Lüshun (Port Arthur), located on the Liaodong Peninsula. Lüshun has specific, if different, meanings for China, Japan, and Russia due to the hard-fought battles repeatedly occurred there in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These battles stem from the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. In November 1894, a massacre occurred in Lüshun, and an alleged 20,000 local people were killed by the Japanese Army. In 1997, the Mausoleum of Ten Thousand Martyrs, registered as a Patriotic Education Base, which had actually been built to commemorate the tragedy in 1896. After the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese Army became displeased at the words 'Japan is at fault' on the stone monument in the mausoleum and removed it. In 1922, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry repaired the monument and in 1948, it was further repaired through the Lüshun Government. In 1994, Prime Minister Li Peng inscribed the title of the mausoleum.

Russia, which had been expanding eastwards and extending its influence into Manchuria and into Korea since the late 1800', built the Trans-Siberian Railway to

connect from Moscow and the farthest eastern port in Russia, Vladivostok in the 19th century, and established the naval base of Port Arthur. After the First Sino-Japanese War, in 1895, Japan was forced through the Triple Intervention by Russia, Germany and France to return the temporarily occupied Liaodong Peninsula to the Qing Dynasty. Russian stationed in Lüshun continued to build numerous firm fortresses, which was the great threat to Japan and brought about the Russo-Japanese War in 1904. The fiercest battle occurred between the Japanese Army led by General Nogi and the Russian Army headed by General Stoessel over the control of the fortress at 203 Highland, 203 meters' above sea level. Nogi, finally, succeeded in occupying the fortress and concluded a peace treaty with Stoessel in Shuishiyang, now called the Navy's Meeting Place. For China, this place represents the imperialists' invasion and partition of China, otherwise known as the 'National Humiliation'. In contrast, for Japan, it evokes a glorious memory of their victory in the Russo-Japanese War. The Manchurian Association of Battlefield Preservation, an organization founded in 1911, built a monument carved with the words 'Shuishiyang, the Remains of the Navy's Meeting Place' (Photo 4)(Map 2).



Photo 4 Shuishiyang



Map 2 Lüshun

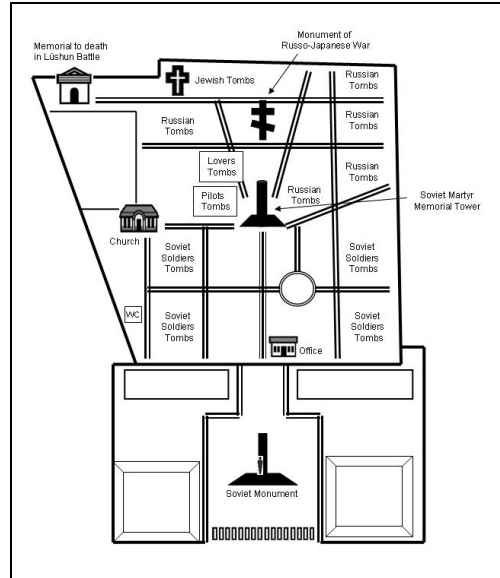
In the early 20th century, Japan created a series of the war monuments in Lüshun. In 1913, 203 Highland Monument was the first built by the association. It was a shell-shaped monument made of arms used during the war and contained the inscription, 'Erlingshan', written by General Nogi. Similar monuments were built at several other battlefields including East Crest Hill Fortress, Pine Tree Hill Fortress, and Two Dragons Hill Fortress. A candle-shaped 66-meter tower appeared on top of

Baiyu Mountain to commemorate those who died. The Manchurian Association of Battlefield Preservation and Dalian City Transportation Company, a branch of South Manchuria Railway Company, organized tour routes connecting between the monuments, museum and battlefields, thereby whetting the Japanese appetite for travelling Manchuria.¹⁷ As far back as the 1930s, numerous Japanese tourists had participated in bus tours organized by Dalian City Transportation Company.¹⁸ The Japanese people eventually came to regard Lüshun as one of their national sacred places. Guidebooks for Lüshun were repeatedly published, and ‘Sacred Place Rakugan’, a dessert made of soybeans and rice flour mixed with sugar, was even sold as a local souvenir.¹⁹

After the withdrawal of the Japanese army and the occupation of Soviet troops, landscape of Lüshun changed from one viewed as a Japanese sacred place to an emerging socialist city. On a visit to China in September 1954, General Secretary Khrushchev went to the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War and proposed that three monuments be built.²⁰ The result was the construction of the Soviet Martyr Memorial Tower in Stalin Square (now People’s Square) in Dalian on 5 May, 1955, the Victory Tower unveiled on Stalin Street in Lüshun on 3 September, 1955, and the Sino-Soviet Friendship Monument built in front of the Lüshun Museum on 14 February, 1957. At the final withdrawal of the Soviet troops in 1955, the Cemetery of Soviet Martyrs which was primary graveyard for Imperial Russian Soldiers, dating back to the late 19th century and containing the monument and tombstones for the Russian Soldiers Japan build after the Russo-Japanese War, was reconstructed. Moreover, Soviet martyrs who fell during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the Korean War as well as those who died in the Lüshun garrison in 1945-1955, were buried there. Eventually, the Soviet-style cemetery became the largest of its kind for foreigners in China (Photo 5) (Map 3). In 2008, the cemetery was once again entirely reconstructed through the donation of two million \$ from a Russian company and on 26 September, 2010, President Medvedev laid a floral tribute on the tombs.²¹



Photo 5 Cemetery of Soviet Martyrs



Map 3 Cemetery of Soviet Martyrs

Foreigners had long been unable to approach Lüshun because it was among the most important and therefore restricted naval bases in China. In 1996, the north area, including 203 Highland and the Remains of the Navy's Meeting Place, was partially opened, which made it possible Japanese tourists to finally visit some of the sightseeing spots that had been denied to them since 1945. The tone of the tours since 1996 has been quite different from that of the 1930s tours, for Japanese visitors must now contented with bitter association of military defeat now connected with the site. They have inevitably served as witnesses to the widespread movement of Patriot Education Campaign.

In 2010, the Chinese Government opened the whole of Lüshun with exception of the military area. Finally, Japanese tourists could visit the former Lüshun Yamato Hotel²² and Lüshun Museum, which until then had been prohibited to foreigners to visit. Numerous travel agencies in Japan have since organized tours. Driving much of the increase in Japanese tourism to the area is the popularity of NHK drama *Clouds above the Hill*, written by the famous Japanese historical novelist, Shiba Ryotaro. Serialized in Sankei Shinbun from 1968 to 1972, the novel has enjoyed numerous reprints and continues to be chosen by Japanese businessmen as one of their favorite books. It describes the Meiji Period (1868-1912) through the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, however it has been criticized for being a dramatization that ignores historical facts and glorifies the Meiji Government. Since it broadcast, it

continues to evoke glorious memories of the Russo-Japanese War and inspire its audience to seek out the locations it references, namely, Matsutama in Ehime Prefecture, the former naval academy in Kure, in Hiroshima Prefecture, and Lüshun in China.

Conclusion

Red Tourism is characterized by many complex phases politically, commercially, emotionally, and traditionally.

Red Tourism is viewed as a pragmatic compromise between politics and commercialism. It is obvious that the Chinese Government is eager to promote the Patriotic Education Campaign; however, it is equally evident that the current content of Red Tourism has failed to attract the interest of the younger Chinese generation. Consequently, the government has had to conform to the changing tastes of contemporary society by making new displays less political and more Disney-like. Considering theming and branding is the most obvious dimension of Disneyization,²³ Red Tourism is influenced both by contextualizing revolutionary narrative in a way of theming and by visualizing it in a way of appealing sensationally. For some tourists, Red Tourism is about nothing more than finding pleasure in the visually sophisticated exhibitions and in purchasing souvenirs. The latter often includes postcards, key-rings, T-shirts, and playing cards, all of which proudly display the iconography and designs used in the nation's 'glorious' past. Propaganda posters are used as revenue-generating commodities after being stripped of any remaining political connotations. Currently, Propaganda posters made during the Cultural Revolution are used as revenue-generating commodities after being stripped of any remaining political connotations and the revival of Mao Zedong.

Characteristics of the political tourism chiefly cause two phenomena. The first is a political corruption. It is quite possible for some corrupt officers to use Red Tourism as a convenient way to go on personal sightseeing trips at public expense. The CCP promptly dealt with this ironical problem by prohibiting the use of public funds for activities in name of Red Tourism.²⁴ The second is related to interpretation of the visitors. In Dark Tourism, interpretation 'provides the link between an attraction and its visitors; it is the

process by which a place, an event, a history, a building, a collection of items or, more generally, what may be referred to as 'heritage' is accorded meaning which is then communicated by one means or another to the visitor.'²⁵ The direction of interpretation is tightly controlled and limited in Red Tourism, because the themes are authorized by the CCP. Visitors to Red Tourist sites in China are expected to accept and absorb the state-approval interpretations on offer. To begin this about, each message is carefully selected and crafted in all the exhibitions. For example, Red Tourism displays routinely fail to mention the famine which occurred after the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

The important development to highlight in the evolution of Red Tourism is the rise of nostalgia in recent years. Today as new research indicates, the revival of Mao Zedong as a popular figure has taken place against a backdrop of people who are disgusted by the economic disparities which have come about as a result of the rapid economic development and widespread corruption. For many, it is comforting to wallow in nostalgia for the so-called 'good old days' of the early CCP. Looking back, it is evident that the CCP at Jinggangshan and Yan'an from the 1920s - the 1940s did not have enough power to gain the supremacy, but people nevertheless believed at the time in the bright future that the party might bring about. Barmé writes that totalitarian nostalgia is a phenomenon that first appeared in post Soviet countries and China in the 1990s, the time socialist ideology began to vacillate after the introduction of market economies and in some cases death of charismatic leaders. For people faced the necessity to keep the balance individually and socially. As the word nostalgia originates from *nostos*, return home and *algia*, pain, totalitarian nostalgia has two aspects; utopian nostalgia which was reconstructive and totalizing and ironic nostalgia which was inconclusive and fragmentary. Those two types, as Barmé points out, increasingly complementary.²⁶ In this sense, Red Tourism is not necessarily sentimental reminiscence. As with Japanese tourists who visit Lüshun without quite sore feelings, Red Tourists passively experience some pain in remembering the past.

The visitor views at Jinggangshan and Yan'an largely reflect a propensity to appreciate nature in traditional China. Since ancient times, nature has been seen as *Shanshui*, which originates in geographical features in China, composed of alluvial

plains and mountains; horizontality and verticality. Prominent sightseeing places, such as Huangshan, Guilin and Wulingyuan, have this feature. In this respect, Green Tourism or eco-tourism in China, is predicated on a traditional appreciation of *Shanshui*, and differs from the Western eco-tourism, which emphasize unspoiled wilderness untouched by humans. As paintings of *Shanshui* often show artificial structures like a hermitages and long stairs and sometimes an immortal mountain wizard in Taoism or a hermit, arbor-shaped buildings and safe and convenient stairs are newly established to make more *Shanshui*-picturesque atmosphere, corresponding to Chinese visitors' taste, which sometimes disgusts foreign visitors who have western thought of nature conservation. Often images and photos of Jinggangshan and Yan'an are composed with a bird's-eye view in a style of paintings of *Shanshui* with hazy, steep and rocky mountains and serpentine pine trees (photo 6) (figure 1).



Photo 6 Wulingyuan



Figure 1 Postcard of Jinggangshan

In summary, several cultural values coexist in Red Tourism. Although any one of these might gain prominence depending on circumstances, in general they along with the phenomenon of nostalgia, maintain a complementary balance.

¹ Zhang Enhua, 2008, "Red Tourism in China: from Communism to Consumerism, from Revolution to Recreation." *Chugoku 21*.vol.29, pp. 163-165 (in Japanese)

² Han Min, 2001, "Mao Tourism of Shaoshan." Tan Chee-Beng, Sidney C.H. Cheung and Yang Hui (eds.) *Tourism, Anthropology and China*. White Lotus, pp. 216-220

-
- ³ Alan Bryman, 2004, *The Disneyization of Society*. Sage Publications.
- ⁴ “China Boosts Red Tourism in Revolutionary Bases.”
http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200502/22/eng20050222_174213.html (2011 July 5)
- ⁵ Luo Guangbin who was imprisoned and Yan Yiyan wrote *Hongyan* in 1961. It depicts that Jiang Xueqin and Xu Yunfeng were arrested because of a betrayal of Fu Zhigao and rescued by an old man pretending a lunatic before the Chongqing liberation on November 30.
- ⁶ 2005, *Hongse Mingcheng*. (Series of Red Tourism Guidebooks) Chinese Tourism Press. (in Chinese), Li Qingshan (ed.) 2009, *Red Tourism Handbook* Dazhong Wenhua Press (in Chinese), Xie Shanguang, 2003, *Handbook of Jinggangshan* Jiangxi Meishu Press (in Chinese)
- ⁷ John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, 2001, *Dark Tourism: the Attraction of Death and Disaster*. South-Western Cengage Learning
- ⁸ Xu Renli, 2000, *Research on China's Red Tourism*. China Finance Press. pp. 4-5 (in Chinese)
- ⁹ A registration of the Chinese Scenic and Historic Area began in 1982, listing 44 places which have been traditionally famous such as Huangshan in Anhui Province, Wuyishan in Fujian Province, Guilin in Guangxi Province, and Shilin in Yunnan Province, were listed in 1982. They are characteristics of cultural landscape in China.
- ¹⁰ Gu Huimin, Chris Ryan and Zhang Wei, 2007, “Jinggangshan Mountains: a Paradigm of China's Red Tourism.” Chris Ryan (ed.) *Battlefield Tourism: History, Place and Interpretation*. Elsevier, pp.62-64
- ¹¹ George Mosse, 1990, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford University Press, p.80
- ¹² Mosse, pp.79-82
- ¹³ Sarah Wagner, 2010, “Tabulating Loss, Entombing Memory: the Srebrenica-Potočari Memorial Centre.” Elizabeth Anderson, Avril Maddrell, Kate McLoughlin and Alana Vincent (eds.) *Memory, Mourning, Landscape*. Editions Rodopi, p.61
- ¹⁴ Watson writes “the grave cult is inextricably linked to geomancy, an amoral and competitive cosmological system.” James L. Watson, 1988, “Graves and Politics in

Southeastern China.” James L. Watson and Evelyn Rawski (ed.), 1988, *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. University of California Press. p.227

¹⁵ Brochure of Museum of the War of the Chinese People’s Resistance Against Japanese Aggression. (in English)

¹⁶ William A. Callahan, 2010, *China: the Pessimist Nation*. Oxford University Press.

¹⁷ 1914, ‘On Manchurian Association of Battlefield Preservation.’ Japan Center for Historical Record. Ref. C08020381500 (in Japanese)

¹⁸ Gao Yuan, 2008, “From a Battlefield to a Sightseeing Spot: Manchurian Tourism around the Russo-Japanese War.” *Chugoku 21*.vol.29, (in Japanese)

¹⁹ Battlefield in Lüshun, Buneido Press (in Japanese)

²⁰ 22 April, 1957, “Welcome to General Secretary Khrushchev.” *Liaoning Ribao*. (in Chinese)

²¹ “China, Russia team up on territorial claims.” Diary Yomiuri Online
<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/dy/national/T100928004811.htm> (27 Sep, 2010)

²² Lüshun Yamato Hotel was kept by the South Manchuria Railway Company, which had managed luxury hotels in main cities along the railroad lines from 1907 to 1945. In 1907, the South Manchuria Railway Company opened Dalian Yamato Hotel as the first and chief one of the related hotels in Dalian, Liaoning Province. It was shifted to the Great Square in the central Dalian for the total reconstruction in 1914. Lüshun Yamato Hotel originally built by the Imperial Russia started to manage in 1908 and after the withdrawal of Japanese Army it had been used as Liberation Army Hotel.

²³ Bryman, p.15

²⁴ Li Yipin and Hu Zhuyi, 2008, “Red Tourism in China.” *Journal of China Tourism Research*, 4 p.162

²⁵ Richard Sharpley and Phillip R. Stone, “(Re)presenting the Macabre: Interpretation, Kitschfication and Authenticity.” Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone (eds.) 2009, *The Darker Side of Travel: the Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*. Channel View Publications, p.113

²⁶ Geremie R. Barmé, 2001, *In the Red: on Contemporary Chinese Culture*. Columbia University Press, pp. 316-317, 344